ISRAEL & SOUTH AFRICA



THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS 1967–74

Israel and South Africa

Development of Relations 1967-1974

by Peter Hellyer

A paper submitted in October 1974 to the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid and inscribed as an official document of the 1974 UN General Assembly.

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INTRODUCTION

AT A TIME when international diplomatic isolation of the apartheid state of South Africa is continuing to grow, despite South African attempts to reverse the trend, there is one state that is strengthening its ties with great speed — despite the apparent incompatibility of the two countries.

The state of Israel, founded at least in theory to provide a refuge for the Jews of the world from anti-semitism, particularly in its Nazi form, is a state which has consistently in international forums expressed its opposition to racialism. Many of the leaders of Israel are still of the concentration camp generation. Yet the present leaders of South Africa with whom they are so keen to strengthen ties, were often Nazi sympathisers during the Second World War, Prime Minister John Vorster, for example, having been interned by the South African Government of the day because of his pro-Nazi activities.

The relations between Israel and South Africa are today very close, in the diplomatic, political economic and military fields, and are increasing steadily. They are at the same time attracting very little international attention, and those governments and political groups firm in their opposition to apartheid make little comment about this new Tel Aviv-Pretoria alliance.

In the past, it could have been claimed, with some justice, that little information was available about the nature of Israeli-South African relations. Today, however, that is less and less true. Recent newspaper stories have indicated the nature of the ties. It has, for example, been confirmed that Israel has provided military personnel to aid the South Africans in their counter-insurgency training. Israel has sold several of its sophisticated Gabriel ship-to-ship missiles to the South African Navy. The Koor Corporation of Israel, owned by the Histadrut, the labour federation, has formed a series of joint companies with South African para-statal bodies, like

ISCOR, the Iron and Steel Corporation, one of which, for example, is now exporting South African steel to Israel. Israeli companies are involved in investment in 'border areas' to benefit from the cheap labour available in the South African Bantustans.

The picture is now clear — for those who care to study the facts. Israel, through its government and its private companies, is actively, and consciously, breaking all United Nations resolutions calling for a political, military, economic and cultural boycott of the South African regime. By its active participation in advising the South African armed forces in counter-insurgency, Israel is, in some ways, providing assistance to the apartheid regime of even greater value than that provided by countries like the United Kingdom.

It is the belief of *Palestine Action* that the relation between South Africa and Israel is not confined to the material sphere. The ideology of the settler state of South Africa, based upon the denial of the rights of the South African indigenous population, is in our view close to that of the settler state of Israel, based upon denial of the rights of the Palestinians. A philosophy of racialism lies at the root of both states.

We hope that an examination of the nature of Israeli-South African relations may lead to greater recognition of the similarity between the two states. Such an examination shows that events like the supply of the Gabriel missiles are not isolated instances, but form part of a wider pattern only now becoming apparent.

The best study so far available on Israeli-South African relations is a paper specially written for the United Nations by Peter Hellyer and inscribed as an official document of the 1974 General Assembly. The full text, which concentrates on developments from the June War of 1967 up till August 1974, follows.

PALESTINE ACTION

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ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA

Development of Relations, 1967-1974

by

Peter Hellyer*

(Issued in accordance with the decision taken by the Special Committee at its 294th meeting on 11 October 1974)

'If the issue is put in an international gathering on apartheid, namely, the principle of whether men have to be classified as superior or inferior according to colour, then Israel, as a Jewish state, can have only one answer.'

Addressing a meeting of American Zionist women in October 1972, the then Israeli Minister of Foreign Affairs, Abba Eban, expressed what remains in public the official attitude of the Israeli Government towards the apartheid State of South Africa.[1]

Any links between Israel and South Africa appear, on the surface, to be unlikely. Israel is a State of Jews, in whose memories the Nazi and Fascist massacres of European Jews are still fresh. The Nationalist Government of *apartheid* South Africa, on the other hand, is composed partly of Afrikaner politicians whose record during the Second World War, and the years immediately preceding it, is often dubious. Prime Minister Balthazar Vǫrster, for example, was interned by the South African Government during that war for activities prejudicial to the Allied war effort against the Nazis. There was also a strong strand of anti-semitism in the mainstream of Afrikaner politics at the time, and the powerful South African Jewish community, which though small had considerable economic influence, generally supported the United Party, led by Field Marshal Smuts.

In fact, however, there have been links between the two States ever since 1948, when Israel was founded, and when the Government of South Africa fell into the hands of the National Party, led by Dr. D. Malan. Those links, not widely publicized, existed throughout the period from 1948 to the June War of 1967, and have since then rapidly expanded, particularly in the months since last year's October War between Israel and the Arab States.

* The views expressed in this paper are those of the author.

The development of the relationship has not been always unruffled. The differing political objectives of the two States, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa from 1960 to 1970, have caused problems from time to time, but they have shown themselves to be essentially transitory, and capable of being subordinated to an over-all policy of the continued development of ties.

The official position adopted by Israel has been markedly different from the practical reality of relations. On the international plane, Israel supported resolutions in the United Nations General Assembly 'deploring' or 'condemning' *apartheid* since becoming a Member of the world body in 1950. This changed only last year. In the early days, this was a policy that did not seriously endanger relations. Until 1960, the voice of black Africa was muted in the world body, owing to the continued colonial status of most of its countries. Consequently, the resolutions were relatively mild in their condemnation of *apartheid*.

In 1960, however, Africa gained a real voice in the United Nations. Concerned with her own diplomatic need to seek African friendship in an attempt to outflank Arab diplomatic initiatives in Africa, Israel in 1960-1961 began to adopt a more vocal position of support for African resolutions opposing *apartheid*.

In November 1961, Israel supported a General Assembly resolution calling for sanctions against South Africa, abstaining only on the clause which called for the expulsion of the *apartheid* State from the world body. In 1962, a similar resolution was supported, and in the ensuing years Israel generally lined up with the Afro-Asian bloc of nations on anti-*apartheid* resolutions. The tone of Israeli speeches may be seen in the following extract from a speech by the Israeli Ambassador, Mordecai Kidron, to the Human Rights Commission at its twenty-seventh session in 1971:

> It is self-evident that the Jewish experience throughout the ages leads us inevitably to condemn any manifestation of racial discrimination based on colour, such as *apartheid*. Israel does not recognise this cruel and unjust aberration of the human spirit, this gross infraction of the right of every man to live in dignity, neither in law, nor in practice. It is utterly repugnant to us, and we have consistently raised our voice in support of all measures taken by the international community to rectify this wrong done to so many millions of our fellow human beings.[12]

These public statements of opposition to *apartheid* have caused some tension between the two States. In 1961, for example, after the sanctions vote, the South African Prime Minister, Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd, commented: 'We will not be able to maintain the same friendship with Israel.'[3] The South African Foreign Minister, Eric Louw, told the Israeli delegation to the United Nations on the same occasion that similar votes in the future would lead to South Africa rescinding permission for the free transfer of funds raised by the South African Zionist Federation to Israel,[4] a threat that was carried out the next year.

There was also some evidence in the early sixties of Israeli assistance to a number of African liberation movements. In 1962, for example, the wife of the then Israeli President, Ben Zvi, visited an Angolan refugee camp in Zaire (then Congo-Leopoldville). She was reported as promising the leader of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, MPLA, Dr. Agostinho Nato, that Israeli humanitarian assistance would continue.[5] In June 1967, the Portuguese command in Mozambique announced that some captured guerillas of the Mozambique Liberation Front, FRELIMO, had been trained in Israel.[6]

The most recent example of Israeli support for the liberation movements came in 1971, with the well-publicised offer of humanitarian assistance to the Organisation of African Unity, a move that was strongly condemned by the South African Government, the South African Zionist Federation, and by groups inside Israel itself. The newspaper, *Hatzofeh,* organ of the National Religious Party, a component of the Israeli coalition Government of the day, criticised the offer while the influential daily *Yediot Aharonet* commented: 'We can maintain relations with African countries without hitting South Africa, who has done us no wrong.'[7]

The question of what attitude to take towards South Africa in the era of African independence in the early sixties was a major topic of discussion in Israel in 1960-1961. In November 1961, the Knesset, the Israeli Parliament, held its first debate on *apartheid*. Prime Minister David Ben Gurion explained the United Nations vote on sanctions:

> After 1960, we changed because we did not want to alienate the new African countries. We knew that the Jews there, (i.e. in South Africa) wouldn't suffer very much. The South African Government was very angry, but not against the Jews there — against Israel.[8]

Two parties represented in the Knesset put down motions critical of the Government's actions — Agudat Israel, a religious party which received a considerable amount of financial assistance from the South African Jewish community, and Herut, led by Menahem Begin, subsequently a cabinet minister from 1967 to 1970. Herut today is the major component of the Likud Alliance, the main opposition grouping in Israel.

Even at the time when Israel was adopting anti-*apartheid* policies in public, she was sorely divided on the issue. Dr. Haim Yakil, director general of the Israeli Foreign Ministry from 1960-1964, commented in August 1966: 'On no issue do I remember more discussion than on *apartheid,* among issues not directly concerning Israel's vital interests. Since 1951, this has been so.'[9]

Since that time, the debate has been won by those supporting close ties with South Africa, who now include not only the right wing opposition parties, but important leaders in the Government, the trade union movement and commerce.

The June 1967 War and the recognition of common interest

In May 1948, Dr. Malan defeated Field Marshal Smuts in the South African general election. He swiftly moved to extend *de jure* recognition to the State of Israel, which had been formed only a few days earlier, and South Africa became the seventh State to extend formal recognition. In 1950, Moshe Sharett, the Israeli Prime Minister, visited South Africa, while in 1953, Dr. Malan visited Israel, the first western prime minister to do so while still in office. Two senior military commanders also visited South Africa: Yigal Allon, subsequently deputy Prime Minister, and Moshe Dayan, subsequently Minister of Defence, the latter in 1957.

There were some sporting links, which ended in 1955, while trade was also developed although until the opening of the Straits of Tiran, as a result of the 1956 tripartite intervention in Egypt, it remained small. In the early sixties, Israel's main commercial interests in Africa turned to the independent States. There were, however, major links with South Africa in two fields. Israel rapidly developed an important diamond-cutting industry, purchasing most of her supplies, through the Central Selling Organisation, from South Africa. And the Zionist Federation in South Africa channelled considerable funds to Israel. The South African Jewish community, despite its small size, became the Jewish community which provided the highest *per capita* contribution to Israel.

The real impetus came with the 1967 June War. The South African reaction to the conflict showed that support for Israel extended far beyond the Jewish community into the heart of Afrikanerdom. A large number of South African Jews volunteered for service in Israel, officially in non-military posts, filling those of Israelis who had been called up into the army,[10] thereby committing themselves to stay in Israel until at least December. The South African Zionist Federation launched a special fund for Israel, and raised large sums. One meeting in Johannesburg alone was reported to have raised 'tens of thousands of rand',[11] while Jews in Durban were reported to have raised half a million rand.[12] Jewish doctors from Port Elizabeth flew to Israel, while the local community was reported to have raised two million rand.[13]

Support for Israel, however, was scarcely less widespread among the ranks of non-Jewish whites. In a discussion in Parliament in Cape Town on 5 June, members of all parties clearly identified themselves with the Israeli cause,[14] while many leaders of the opposition United Party, including the leader in Cape Province, and the leader in the Senate, attended a special service in Cape Town's Great Synagogue.[15] Vause Raw, the United Party's spokesman on defence matters in Parliament, said that

Israel should be an example to South Africa.[16] Students at the leading English-language university, the University of Witwatersrand, in Johannesburg, collected blood for the Israeli medical services, the Magen David Adom.[17]

It was not, however, only the English-speaking South Africans who supported Israel; although less publicly, there was a similar wave of support from the Afrikaners. Within the Dutch Reformed Church, source of the religious 'justifications' for *apartheid,* there were calls for support for Israel. Dave Marais, M.P., Chairman of the Nationalist Football League, planned to hold a five-a-side competition to raise cash for Israel.[18] The Johannesburg *Star* said that the secret Afrikaner society, the Broederbond, had given 'a sizeable contribution to funds to assist Israel'.[19] While there was no official confirmation of this report, a spokesman from the Zionist Federation, speaking about the progress of the Appeal Fund, stated in Cape Town on 8 June that 'several well-known Africaans organisations are among the many non-Jewish bodies which have contributed to the Fund.'[20]

The South African Government remained officially neutral during the war. Dr. Hilgard Muller, the Foreign Minister, announced this position in a statement after the war, on 18 June.[21] It was, however, a neutrality tempered with concessions to help Israel. During the war, and immediately after it, the official South African blood transfusion service loaned blood to the Magen David Adom.[22] Controls on the transfer of money to Israel which had been imposed in 1962 (see above) were relaxed to allow money to be sent for humanitarian purposes, while all money donated by individuals was allowed to be sent without hindrance. The sum involved was never officially announced, although a figure of 21.5 million rand was mentioned by several sources.[23]

At the United Nations, while continuing officially to adhere to a policy of neutrality, South Africa abstained from the votes in the General Assembly in the early part of July, dealing, among other issues, with the Israeli annexation of the eastern part of Jerusalem, which was condemned even by the United States. South Africa claimed that this issue was the responsibility of the Security Council.[24] During the June War and in the period immediately following, therefore, Israel was able to count on wide support in South Africa, financial and political.

While the apparently total identification of the South African Jewish community with Israel during the war had raised again the old spectre of dual loyalties, the South African Minister of Transport, in a speech in Johannesburg in August, said that any doubts had been eradicated by the statements from official community bodies, such as the South African Jewish Board of Deputies and the Zionist Federation.[25]

The recognition of common interests, despite the differences in the internal systems of the two States and in their policies, was to prove in the

post-war period the driving force between the rapid development of the already existing links between the two countries.

E. J. Horwitz, chairman of the Zionist Federation, speaking at its thirtieth conference in September 1967, indicated that one of the results of the war had been a distinct improvement in relations between the two States.[26] With the new atmosphere, the development of links began. Calls for greater trade began to increase; fund-raising for Israel inside the Jewish community in South Africa increased; the first signs of military collaboration came to the surface.

Development of relations, 1967-1973

At the end of July 1967, a Johannesburg engineer, Stanley Kaplan, set in motion the process that was to lead to the establishment of a special group to promote trade. 'Until now, Israelis have thought of South Africa in the context of South African Jewry', he said. 'Now . . . Israelis have been shown forcibly that South Africa is a nation as a whole. There is now a genuine feeling for . . . more active technical and commercial ties . . . I would like to see a non-profit-making business group set up to establish closer commercial and business ties between the two countries.'[27]

Two directors of the Mediterranean Lines of Haifa visited South Africa in October 1967 to discuss the possibility of establishing a trade in maize.[28] Raya Jaglom, leader of the Women's International Zionist Organisation (WIZO), visited South Africa in August to attend two Jewish community conferences, and to raise money for Israel.[29]

The lessons of the lightning war of June were explained in detail to the South African staff college by the Chief of Staff of the Israeli Air Force, General Mordechai Hod, in October.[30] In April 1968, when the South African Minister of Defence, P.W. Botha, warned the Zambian Government about the danger it ran by supporting 'terrorist' raids, he drew the analogy of the Israeli reprisal raids against Palestinian guerrilla bases, such as the attack on Kerameh in March 1968.[31]

The differing needs of the two countries on the international plane continued from time to time to lead to temporary problems. In early November 1967, for example, Joel Barromi, the Israeli representative at the United Nations, walked out when the South African representative rose to defend *apartheid*. The Nationalist newspaper Dagbreek stated:

> The suspicion of dual loyalty, to Israel and South Africa, cannot be talked away. An attitude of disapproval (from the South African Jewish community) towards Israel's United Nations actions is long overdue. And forget the smokescreen of anti-semitism.[32]

The reaction of the Jewish community's leaders and public organs helped to calm the dispute. Within the Board of Deputies, according to some

reports, 'some South African Jews are known to feel that a stronger line should be taken — that Israel should be told that its United Nations statements are deprecated'.[33] *The South African Jewish Times,* the *Zionist Record* and the *Jewish Herald,* while criticising the reactions of the Nationalist press, also expressed regret at Mr. Barroni's actions.[34]

In Israel too, there was strong criticism of the Government's stand. Eliezer Shostak, a member for the Free Centre Party in the Knesset, called for the quick return of an Israeli ambassador to South Africa, and placed an advertisement in the daily *Ha'aretz* criticising Mr. Barromi.[35] Brigadier Haim Herzog, a leading Israeli soldier, added his voice to the call for a new policy: 'Why should Israel adopt this stand towards South Africa for fear of losing support among African States, when France continues to supply tanks and planes to Pretoria without endangering its influence in black Africa?'[36] An increasing number of groups and influential individuals supported this position.

The development of trade continued, however, more or less unruffled by the political dispute. In mid-October 1967, for instance, the deputy director and the chief engineer of Israel Aircraft Industries, IAI, were among a party of six Israeli businessmen brought to South Africa by El Al, the Israeli airline. During their visit, they toured the factory of South Africa's Atlas Aircraft Industries. They also discussed the possibility of bringing the new Israeli plane, the Arava, a short take-off-and-land, multiple-purpose craft, to South Africa for demonstration flights and tests.[37]

A delegate from the Israeli Ministry for Commerce and Industry, Harry Voremberg, was sent to South Africa for a four-month period at the end of the year.[38]

1968

In January 1968, Shostak formed the Israel-South Africa Friendship League, with members including politicians, local councillors and businessmen.[39] Shostak pledged his organisation to work for the growth of trade and the further improvement of relations between the two countries, and by March, the *Rand Daily Mail* was able to report: 'Plans to increase trade between Israel, South Africa and eastern Africa are being studied by Israel, which expects a considerable increase in exports and imports.'[40]

To parallel Shostak's group, the South Africa Foundation — an organisation of South African businessmen devoted to improving the image of South Africa in the outside world — formed an Israeli-South African Man-to-Man Committee, whose members included Colonel Ephraim Shurer, who had left the Israeli armed forces to become El Al's manager in South Africa, and Dr. Shloma Peer, a founder member of Ben Gurion's Rafi Party, and a member of its national council, who had left Israel to settle in South Africa in 1965.[41] One of the first acts of the Committee was to arrange a

meeting between P. W. Botha, and Shimon Peres, then Secretary-General of the Israeli Labour Party, and a member of the key Foreign Affairs and Security Committee of the Knesset.[42] Now Minister of Defence, Peres had become a member of the Knesset in 1959. He had been in command of the Israeli Navy, in 1949, and in 1952, was appointed director-general of the Ministry of Defence. During his visit, he stated: 'We certainly have our differences in our points of view, but our relations are excellent.' He said that he believed relations had shown 'a slight improvement' since the June War, ascribing this to the position adopted by South Africa during the war.[43]

A further activity by members of the Foundation's committee was that of participating in the 'Millionaires' Conference' held in Jerusalem in April 1968, to raise money from businessmen, and to stimulate trade with Israel. David Suzman, of Cape Town, was appointed chairman of the South African regional committee of the conference, and a number of other South African businessmen attended.[44]

In mid-1968, yet another Israeli statement at the United Nations caused a ruffling of relations. The new Israeli representative, Yosef Tekoah, speaking in the General Assembly, said that South Africa had forfeited its right to administer Namibia by violating the terms of the original League of Nations mandate.[45] Shmuel Tamir, leader of the Free Centre party in the Knesset, and his colleague, Shostak, were in South Africa at the time, as guests of the Israeli-South African Committee.[46] They declined to comment on the Tekoah speech,[47] but Dr. Muller, speaking in the Parliament in Cape Town, criticised Tekoah's speech, and what he termed 'Israel's attempt to curry favour with black Africa'. He went on to say, however, that the question of possible South African diplomatic representation in Tel Aviv was under consideration.[48]

At the same time, *Die Burger,* organ of the National Party in Cape Province, devoted an editorial to the subject of Israeli-South African relations:

> Israel and South Africa have a common lot. Both are engaged in a struggle for existence, and both are in constant clash with the decisive majorities in the United Nations. Both are reliable foci on strength within the region, which would, without them, fall into anti-Western anarchy. It is in South Africa's interest that Israel is successful in containing her enemies, who are among our own most vicious enemies; and Israel would have all the world against it if the navigation route around the Cape of Good Hope should be out of operation because South Africa's control is undermined. The anti-Western Powers have driven Israel and South Africa into a community of interests which had better be utilised than denied.'[49]

The commercial and, increasingly, the cultural development of relations continued to expand during the year. On leaving South Africa, Tamir and Shostak declared that their 'Efforts to promote better understanding and closer relations between Israel and South Africa met with universal wel-

come'.[50] The Israeli trade commissioner, Amitay Ben-Joseph, who had been appointed to his post in June 1968, expressed hopes that Israel would be able to import wool, asbestos, industrial diamonds and metals from South Africa and provide South Africa with textiles, clothing, chemicals and pharmaceuticals.[51]

One example of the new expansion in commercial links was the Israel Fashion Week, held in Johannesburg and Cape Town in the latter part of August. The first major fashion promotion of its kind by Israel in South Africa, it was organised by the Israeli Export Institute under the direction of the head of its fashion centre, Major Ruth Kimmel. As a result of the week, 350,000 rand were taken in direct trading, and an over-all total of 500,000 rand was expected to be reached.[52]

Another example was that of the increased traffic carried by El Al to and from South Africa. 'Trade between Israel and South Africa has doubled since the end of the June War, and air freight is playing an increasingly important part in this growth', wrote Bill Prinsloo, aviation correspondent of the Rand *Daily Mail*.[54] El Al's passenger traffic increased by 155 per cent with the opening of a shorter route made possible by the capture of the Sinai peninsula.[54] South African visitors to Israel rose by 35 per cent over 1967,[55] while in November of 1968, El Al inaugurated a new weekly flight from Lydda to Johannesburg to accommodate the traffic.[56]

On the cultural front, both the Karmon Israeli Singers and Dancers, who had previously visited South Africa in 1961, and the comedian Shimon Dzigan, visited South Africa in July and August.[57] The director of the external broadcasting division of Kil Israel, the official radio, Dr. Geoffrey Wigoder, visited South Africa for six weeks.[58]

Among other Israelis to visit were Gideon Hausner, member of the Knesset for the small Independent Liberal Party, a partner in the coalition, who was a former Attorney General,[59] and General Uzi Narkiss, who came as a guest of the Zionist Federation.[60]

During the year, trade between the two countries rose considerably from the 1967 level. Exports from Israel to South Africa rose from $4 million to $5.7 million, an increase of over 40 per cent, while imports from South Africa rose from $3.4 million to $5.2 million, a rise of over 50 per cent. Despite an increase in the year in Israeli trade with Ethiopia, the rise was sufficient to secure for South Africa the position of Israel's major trading partner on the African continent.[61] A key factor was the establishment of a trade association — the Israel-South Africa Trade Association (ISATA), by delegates from South Africa to the Millionaires' Conference. Morris Lubner was the Chairman.[62]

The trade expansion continued the following year, 1969, together with visits by more leading Israelis to South Africa. At the beginning of the year, a new head of the Israeli diplomatic mission was named, Michael Michael,

who, holding the title of chargé d'affaires, held the personal rank of ambassador, and had held a number of important posts in the Israeli Foreign Ministry.[63] In a comment from Tel Aviv the day the appointment was announced, the correspondent of the Johannesburg *Star* reported that the dispute between those in favour of rapidly expanding links with South Africa and those against had been resolved: 'Israel will try in future to maintain much closer and fuller contacts with South Africa. The pro-South Africa faction has, so it seems, won the day.'[64]

The former business manager of the *South African Jewish Times*, Harold Blumberg, was appointed to a post with Israeli Publications in Tel Aviv in January. He described his role as helping to expand trade through publications produced by the company.[65] He was given assistance by the activities of Israel's representatives in South Africa. In May, for example, Amitay Ben-Joseph told a meeting of the Executives Association of Johannesburg that South African businessmen could easily double their exports to Israel, and urged them to set up joint projects with Israeli companies.[66] In June, ISATA indicated that 17 South African businessmen were to attend the first meeting of the Economic Advisory Council set up in Israel, from 25 June to 29 June, the meeting was to be chaired by ISATA Chairman, Morris Lubner.[67]

In August, another in the series of Israel Weeks was held in South Africa. According to Mrs. Rhouell, director of the Israel Week department of the Israeli Government, 'the South African venture (was) the biggest so far'.[68] It was sponsored by the South African firms O. K. Bazaara, John Orr, Greatermans and Garlicks, and was partially organised by ISATA. The opening ceremony of the week in Johannesburg was attended by Adin Talber, Deputy-Director of Israel's Ministry of Commerce and Industry, who stressed the scope that existed for the promotion of reciprocal trade. Also in attendance was South Africa's Deputy Minister for Economic Affairs.[69]

The Israeli shipping line, Zim, partly government-owned, announced in early August that it would, through its subsidiary, Gold Star Line, provide four ships for the South Africa-Japan route. It also stated that the traffic on the Israel-South Africa route had shown a 50 per cent increase since the June War, and that the Australia-Eilat run would be extended to include a call at Durban.[70] The Zim Far East Director, Carmel Hacohen, who visited South Africa shortly afterwards, came 'to study port conditions, and inquire into the possibility of expanding South African-Israeli trade, for which he believes there is considerable scope, because of the tremendous development here.' (in South Africa).[71]

With the rapid growth of tourism between the two countries experienced in 1968, the Director-General of the Israeli Ministry of Tourism, Meir de Shalit, visited South Africa in October, to establish the first Israeli Government tourist office on the African continent, headed by Avraham Manor.[72]

The year also saw an increase in the number of leading Israeli political and military figures who visited South Africa, the most notable of whom were former Premier Ben Gurion, and former intelligence chief, Haim Herzog. Both came in May for the fund-raising appeal launched by the Zionist Federation, which aimed to raise 25 million rand during the course of the year. During the visit, Ben Gurion had discussions with Prime Minister Vorster, accompanied by Colonel Joseph Golan, who had been military attaché in France, and had only left the Israeli army in January 1969. Herzog who had himself only recently left the army, was described as 'presently engaged in civilian work for important financial institutions in Israel'.[73] but he remained close to the military establishment. Another visitor was General Aharon Doron, who arrived in August as a guest of the Zionist Federation. At that time Executive Vice-President of Tel Aviv University, he had been commander of Tel Aviv's civil defence during the June War.[74]

In an editorial welcoming Ben Gurion, an influential Nationalist newspaper, *Die Vaterland,* stated:

> Israel's survival in the Middle East is a fundamental part of our security . . . If our Jewish citizens would listen to what our important visitor has come to ask —help for the building of Israel — then their contribution is also a contribution to South Africa's security.' It went on to say that Israeli control over the Suez Canal had meant that South Africa had gained 'a large material, as well as strategic advantage.'[75]

In November, Israel Aircraft Industries appointed a South African company, Placo, as distribution agents for their new Commodore ten-seat executive jet, which was due for delivery in August 1970,[76] putting on a more formal basis the links it had already established at the end of 1967.

Trade during 1969 showed a further rapid increase. Israeli exports to South Africa rose from $5.7 million to $8.2 million, while imports from South Africa rose from $5.2 million to $5.8 million.[77]

1970

The first report from normally reliable sources of an arms trade came at the beginning of 1970. The Jewish Telegraph Agency (JTA), in a report from London, stated:

> The South African Government has begun to organise the export of tanks to Israel, marking a new stage in their co-operation. The South African tank is a 65-ton giant, armed with a heavy gun, and designed according to the model of the new British tank. This is an apparent reference to Britain's Chieftain tank, which Israel has been trying to buy from Great Britain.'[78]

The following day, the Agency continued:

> The Israeli Foreign Ministry had no comment today on a charge that South Africa was shipping arms to Israel . . . The charge, which appeared Sunday, stated that the South African Government was planning the export of giant 65-ton tanks to Israel.[79]

The Israeli representative to the United Nations, Tekoah, sent a letter to the current president of the Security Council on 2 February, denying the content of the first report, but failing to mention the unwillingness of his Government to make a comment on the matter.[80]

Shortly after the JTA report on tanks, the commander of the Women's Army Corps in Israel, Colonel Otella Levy, visited South Africa. She was accompanied by Mrs. Tamar Eshel, in charge of foreign relations for the municipality of Jerusalem, and the two came for a three-week visit to 'launch the 1970 Women's Biennial Zionist Campaign'.[81] In April, Brigadier Dan Laner visited Johannesburg for a Zionist conference,[82] while at the end of the year, the nineteenth biennial convention of the South African Women's Zionist Organisation was held in Israel for the first time. It was addressed by Tourism Minister Moshe Kol, and former Air Force Chief, General Ezer Weizmann.[83]

Preparations for trade in planes continued. IAI sent a sales team to South Africa and Mozambique in April to demonstrate the Commodore.[84] Investment also increased. In July, the para-statal Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa signed an agreement with David Golan, managing director of the Foreign Trade Bank of Israel, extending a guaranteed line of credit for 10.7 million rand, to help augment the level of South African capital exports to Israel.[85]

In October, the Steel Pipe Industry (Pty), a subsidiary of the South African company, African Gate Holdings, sold a spiral steel pipe mill for 250,000 rand to the Middle East Tube Co., of Haifa, taking a share in the Israeli company.[86]

At the end of 1970, *Jewish Affairs,* the official organ of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, governing body of South African Jewry, published an article on the similarities between South Africa and Israel which stated:

> The argument that Israel and South Africa have a basic community of interest in the Middle East and further south has more than a grain of truth in it. There is nothing secret or sinister about it. The strong ties between the two countries, closer than ever since the 1967 war, are inseparable from their geographical and strategic position, from their anti-communist outlook, and from all the realities of their national existence . . . In short, the destinies of the two countries, so different in many ways, but so alike in the fundamental conditions of their survival, are interwoven in a much more meaningful sense than any enemy propagandist could conceive, or, for that matter, would be happy to see.

The author of the article went on to review the new South African 'outward policy' in the African continent, and to draw similarities between the interests of Israel and South Africa there as well.

> Israeli and South African interests converge not just on the eastern fringe of the African continent, but still more positively in the heart of the continent itself. Both share an interest in the material and social development of those

among the 200 million Africans who wish to seek their help and co-operation . . . It is on African soil that the paths of Israel and South Africa are certain to cross in the 70's, and, to an increasing extent, in the more distant future. It is not, and never has been, a question of rivalry, but rather of the one complementing the other where they happen to meet.'[87]

Such a clear declaration of identity of interest — in the official organ of the Board of Deputies — was an indication of the extent to which the South African Jewish community's leaders felt themselvesable to identify with the policies of the South African Government. If, at first, Israel's policies towards South Africa might have been to some extent determined by concern for the future of the Jewish community in South Africa, it was later to become clear that the South African Jewish community had played a not inconsiderable role in converting the Israel Government to a more and more open position of support for the *apartheid* government itself.

Some South African Jews, in fact, criticised the fact that the expansion of relations was not progressing with sufficient speed. Justice J. F. Marais, for example, who spent some time on an Israeli kibbutz in early 1970, told the Jerusalem correspondent of the *Rand Daily Mail:* 'What worries me is that South Africa has no diplomatic relationship with Israel.'[88]

At the Israeli end, besides commercial developments, the progress of sporting and cultural ties began to get under way — at the very time when the international sports and cultural boycott of South Africa was reaching a high point. Two leading musicians from the Israeli Philharmonic Orchestra visited Johannesburg to play in August.[89] The Israeli Lawn Tennis Association declined to use its proxy vote at the Davis Cup meeting in London which was to discuss the participation of Rhodesia and South Africa.[90]

Towards the end of 1970, the new Israeli trade consul, Michael Ram, predicted that South African exports to Israel could rapidly increase from 4.5 million rand to 25 million rand, and a visiting Israeli mission had discussions with a number of South African produce marketing boards.[91] The Mayor of Ceres, in Cape Province, sent members of his fire brigade and town council to the town of Ramat-Gan in Israel for what was described as 'a crash course in fire-fighting and civil defence', with special reference to the joint operations of the two services in times of civil emergency — a situation that could emerge in South Africa in the event of an African uprising.[92] In December 1970, the Israeli firm of Tadiran began discussions with the South African firm of C. F. Fuchs Ltd., to permit the latter to produce sophisticated electronic equipment under licence in South Africa.[93] Tadiran, 40 per cent of whose sales were then to the Israeli military, is partly owned by the Israeli Ministry of Defence.

Growth in interrelationships was once again reflected in trade statistics at the end of the year. In 1970, Israeli exports to South Africa amounted to $10.7 million, and imports from South Africa were $10.2 million. Exports to South Africa represented in that year over 35 per cent of the total for the

rest of Africa, while the leap in imports from South Africa, up from $5.8 million the previous year, meant that Israel imported nearly half as much from South Africa as she did from the rest of the continent.[94] These figures, as usual, excluded both remittances from the Zionist organisations in South Africa, and the diamond trade.

The increase in trade was parallelled by an increase in tourism. The number of South African tourists to Israel rose by 11 per cent in the year, according to Israel Zuriel, deputy director of the Israeli Ministry of Tourism.[95]

1971

In 1971, the Israeli offer to the OAU Liberation Committee temporarily strained relations. At the commercial level, however, they continued to grow. In January, the first South African trade mission left for Israel. Organised by ISATA, in collaboration with the Israeli consulate, it was led by the Federated Chamber of Industries and the para-statal Industrial Development Corporation, and was composed of representatives of some of South Africa's largest heavy engineering, construction, casting and foundry work companies. Standard Bank and Barclays Bank International also participated in the mission, which sought to ensure that the line of credit extended to Israel in 1970 was fully taken up, and that trade would again increase.[96]

In February, Africa-Israel Investments, a major Israeli firm which in that year was 25 per cent owned by South African investors, linked with the IDC in finding finance for a building project in Venezuela. The firm also had plans for extending into the insurance field in South Africa.[97] In early March, an Israeli mission, under the sponsorship of ISATA, came to South Africa.[98]

At the beginning of May, the Israeli Consul-General, I. D. Unna, stated at an Israel Independence Day rally in Johannesburg that relations between the two countries were stronger and deeper than ever.

> 'We would have not been able to maintain this good relationship if we could not overcome our differences. On the contrary, a free and open discussion of matters on which we agree, as well as those on which we disagree, improves the atmosphere for a better understanding of each other's problems.'[99]

Almost simultaneously, the first permanent representative of an Israeli bank in South Africa was appointed. The Japhet Bank, one of Israel's oldest, founded in 1933, and controlled by the Bank Hapoalim, one of Israel's three largest, appointed Efraim Freund as their South African representative. His task was to promote trade contacts, especially in the fields of base minerals, manufactured and semi-manufactured products, to promote South African exports to Israel by providing financing through

associate companies abroad, to give information about investment possibilities in Israel, including the field of joint-capital projects, and to give exchange advice.[100]

At the end of May, the South African Government announced a further incentive to trade. Controls on direct investment by South African companies in Israel were relaxed, with a new ceiling of 10 million rand. The ceiling was generally expected to be raised once the initial investment generated the need for more. The *South African Financial Gazette* commented:

> 'This move is seen as the forerunner of further relaxations designed to encourage the 'export' of South African capital to Israel. The development follows closely several other moves which have highlighted the growing trade and economic ties between South Africa and Israel. The *Financial Gazette* understands that most of this credit (i.e. that arranged in July 1970) has been subscribed, and that demand for its facilities were particularly heavy after a South African trade mission, organised by the Israeli consulate in South Africa, visited Israel's main centres earlier this year . . . The significance of the latest development is that the South African Government, for the first time, has given its official encouragement for further South African investment in Israel.'

The magazine also gave some details of investment that had already taken place, including the African Gate investment in Haifa, and the establishment of a Cecil Knits textile venture in Israel by the Desiree Clothing group of companies in Cape Town.[101]

This relaxation of controls was rapidly followed by a new dollar line of credit being made available by the IDC, at the beginning of June. The second in a year, it was worth $14.9 million, and was designed to boost South African exports to Israel.[102]

The growing importance of her South African trade to Israel was shown in July 1971 by the disclosure that from mid-1971, South Africa, together with Mozambique, would be supplying two thirds of Israel's sugar needs,[103] while in October, Carmel Hacohen, of Zim, revealed during a visit that the new direct route from South Africa to Japan was being plied by Gold Star ships on a monthly basis.[104] Likewise, the figures released by Israel Zuriel, the deputy director of the Israeli Ministry of Tourism, indicated that the tourist increase of the previous years was being maintained. Visiting southern Africa to attend the conference of the Association of South African Travel Agents, in Swaziland, and to spend two weeks in South Africa itself, he said that the figures from January to June 1971 showed a 27 per cent increase over the same period in 1970.[105]

Any public recognition of the existence of the relationship continued to embarrass the Israeli Government. In an article in the *New York Times,* on 30 April 1971, C. L. Sulzberger quoted Prime Minister Vorster as saying:

> We view Israel's position and problems with understanding and sympathy. Like us, they have to deal with terrorist infiltration across the border, and, like us, they have enemies bent on their destruction.

What upset Israel most was the report by Sulzberger of military collaboration between the two States. He said that South Africa was manufacturing the Uzi submachine-gun, designed by Israel, under licence from Belgium, and went on to report what he termed 'wholly unconfirmable' rumours that the Israelis, having obtained blueprints of the French Mirage fighter by espionage, had made them available to South Africa. He also said that he had been told officially that a South African mission flew to Israel during the June War to study the use of weapons, and the tactics of lightning strikes. Israel radio subsequently reported that Foreign Minister Abba Eban had denied the report about the Uzi.[106]

Attempts to develop the arms trade, however much denied by Israel, were confirmed by the Israeli offer in May to sell three planes to replace those of the South African Air Force which had crashed into Table Mountain. While this offer was not confirmed, collaboration was proved by an incident in Durban involving a fire aboard a small Greek freighter. The ship, the *Antonious Ventorius*, had sailed from Eilat to Durban, with a cargo of high explosives. The outbreak of the fire, which took place after most of the cargo had been unloaded, led to publicity about its nature.[107]

The Israeli offer to the OAU might have been expected to reduce relations. Yet even while the dispute was at its height, Israeli officials visited South Africa, while after Israel's withdrawal of the offer, leading parliamentarians of both countries visited the other. Rabbi Menahem Porush, Jerusalem's deputy mayor, and a Knesset member for Agudat Israel, visited South Africa on a fund-raising mission in June,[108] while the Assistant Under-Secretary of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, Gershon Avner, was also in South Africa in early June to participate in a fund-raising campaign.[109] In September, Eliezer Shostak made what appeared to be an annual visit to set up a South African branch of his Israeli-South African Friendship League, which was headed by Dr. Shlomo Peer, of ISATA, who was also a member of the committee of the South Africa Foundation.[110] At the end of October, Menahem Begin visited South Africa, and had discussions with Prime Minister Vorster. According to one report of the meeting, Vorster 'expressed deep understanding of Israel's position. and declared his desire for friendship between South Africa and Israel'.[111]

In the first visit for several years to Israel by South African Parliamentarians, the Vice-President of the Senate, D. Potgieter, together with two members of Parliament, Dr. T. N. H. Jansen of the National Party, and Dr. E. L. Fisher of the United Party, went for a short visit in October, at the invitation of the Knesset.[112]

Breaches of the sports boycott also continued. An official Israeli judo team visited South Africa in November, the first international judo team to do so.[113] In July and August, the top Israeli basketball team, Maccabi Tel Aviv, visited South Africa, playing matches against all-white teams, including a South African 'representative' team: it was the first such Israeli team

to visit South Africa since 1955.[114] Two Israeli athletes also participated in the multiracial athletics meeting in Cape Town at the end of November: they were the first Israeli athletes to compete in competitions in South Africa.[115]

Cultural exchanges during the year included a visit by a study group from Israel, led by Professor A. Vardi of Tel Aviv University, to Windhoek, the Namibian capital, to study the socio-economic and socio-political structure of the country. They were the guests of the Windhoek Rotary Club.[116]

1972

In 1972, the expansion of ties continued. The year was marked by the decision of South Africa to open its first diplomatic mission in Tel Aviv, announced in early March. Charles Pincham, former South African consul-general in Luanda and New York, was sent in April to open the office, together with E. A. Van Niekerk. Although the South African Government refused to comment officially on the decision, it was welcomed by Dr. Shlomo Peer, who said: 'It should have happened years ago . . . Israel must have considered the unfavourable reaction that is bound to come from the Afro-Asian and possibly the Scandinavian missions based in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. By having accepted the South African request, Israel has shown that it values a close relationship with South Africa.'[117] Carel Noffke, editor of *Die Transvaler,* which is close to South African Government thinking, told a meeting of the Johannesburg Zionist Association that he believed that South Africa and Israel had agreed that South Africa would not open an office in Tel Aviv until Israel had established its links with black Africa.[118]

A new South African trade mission to Israel was announced in April, when the Israeli trade consultant in Johannesburg said that a mission from the city's chamber of commerce would visit Israel in November, to consolidate the growing trade.[119]

In June, a South African Minister, Stephanus Botha, the Minister for Water Affairs and Forestry, visited Israel to study Israeli methods of water conservation, and had discussions with his Israeli counterpart. He told reporters on his arrival that he hoped to establish collaboration in this field with Israel.[120]

One indication of the growing collaboration came in May, with a statement by the South African Deputy Commissioner of Police, General Danie Bester, that he looked forward to the establishment of an effective extradition procedure.[121] In fact a treaty had been signed in 1960, but not invoked. Following the collapse of the Sidarel Finance Corporation in South Africa in January 1972, the managing director had fled to Israel, and in the next year, an estimate was given of 'at least 33 businessmen' having fled South Africa in the past four and a half years, leaving debts amounting to millions

of rand. 'Many of them are now in Israel'.[122] General Bester was to be disappointed in 1972, but not for long.

Financial ties continued to grow throughout 1972. Bank Leumi of New York, a subsidiary of Bank Leumi of Tel Aviv, participated in a consortium of banks, led by the European-American Banking Corporation, EABC, to raise a secret loan of $50 million for the South African Finance Ministry in June 1972. Bank Leumi's share was $2 million.[123] In September, an Israeli engineer, Joe Sery, invested a quarter of a million rand in a new company, Car Part Industries (Pty), together with a South African firm, Brest Motor Metal Works (Pty), an indication that the cash flow was going two ways.

At the end of the year, trade was down, with Israeli exports to South Africa falling to 6.0 million rand, and imports from South Africa to 7.5 million. Import restrictions were blamed for the fall.[124]

A number of visits took place during 1972. Esther Herlitz, the former Israeli ambassador to Denmark, spent a month in South Africa in the early part of the year, at the invitation of the Women's Zionist Council. She addressed a meeting of parliamentarians in Cape Town.[125] Raya Jaglom, president of WIZO, was also in South Africa during the same period, to assist in a fund-raising campaign.[126]

An official Israeli women's tennis team visited South Africa in March to participate in the Federation Tennis Cup. It was the first time that Israel had taken part.[127]

1973

From the beginning of 1973, the commercial links swung upwards again. In January, Bank Leumi opened a representative office in Johannesburg, with the promotion of trade and investment as its main purpose.[128]

A new and significant advance came in the political field at the beginning of the year as well. After the decision by four African States to break relations with Israel, following the lead of Uganda, Gad Yaacobi, the Israeli Deputy Minister for Communications, visited South Africa at the invitation of the local Jewish community. He was the first Israeli Minister to do so while in office since the June War. While no official meetings were announced, discussions over El Al's continuing desire for a route through South Africa to South America were reported from Johannesburg.[129] Commentators suggested that this visit was evidence of a decision in Israel that her African policies were failing, so that ties with South Africa could become more public.

In February, Reuters reported from Tel Aviv that Israel would import 40,000 tons of South African cement through Eilat during the year, and that the first consignment was due to arrive by the end of the month.[130]

In the sports field, a team of 120 athletes from South Africa attended the

Maccabiah Games in Israel in July, held to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the State.[131]

The months leading up to the October War saw a number of important Israeli visitors to South Africa. The most important was former Ambassador to the United States, Yitzhak Rabin, who visited the country in May for a 10-day fund-raising visit on behalf of the Israeli United Appeal.[132] The Chief Rabbi, Shlomo Goren, visited South Africa in August, and met defence chiefs, including Defence Minister P. W. Botha, and the Commandant-General of South Africa's armed forces, Admiral H. H. Biermann. He also had discussions with President J. J. Fouche.[133] Ruth Dayan, former wife of Moshe Dayan, also visited South Africa, for a fund-raising campaign in March.[134]

The traffic was both ways. In September, the South African Minister of the Interior, Connie Mulder, went to Israel for a 'private visit' and met with Foreign Minister Abba Eban, and with his Israeli counterpart, Yosef Burg.[135] When, at the beginning of October, President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire broke off relations with Israel, he specifically referred to the Mulder visit as a contributory factor in his decision. Dr. Eschel Rhoodie, the Secretary for Information also visited Israel in September,[136] while it was revealed in August that another visitor, 'recently', had been the chief of South Africa's Bureau of State Security (BOSS), General Hendrik Van den Bergh; the visit had been kept secret until that time. In an interview with Raphael Bashan, of *Yediot Aharanot,* van den Bergh said:

> I went to Israel recently, and enjoyed every moment there. I told the Prime Minister when I got back that as long as Israel exists we have a hope. If Israel should, God forbid, be destroyed, then South Africa would be in danger of extinction.'[137]

The purpose of the visit was not disclosed.

A less important visit was the Mayor of Johannesburg, Dr. A. D. Bensusan, and his wife.[138]

The months before the OCtober War also saw a significant stepping up of commercial links. One announcement in June was of particular importance. The leader of the South African delegation to the Millionaires' Conference, Benjamin Wainstein, revealed a plan for South African companies to use Israel to evade sanctions imposed by African States. At a press conference in Jerusalem, he said that a South African company was to invest £UK 400,000 in an Israeli factory to make cotton prints. About 60 per cent of the product, he said, would be used for the African market in South Africa and the former High Commission territories. The rest would be offered for sale elsewhere on the continent. 'Israel serves as a very useful base for South African companies that cannot supply directly to Africa,' he said, and went on to say that the textile factory was only one of six or seven moves in the pipeline, two of which had been already agreed.

He said that South African businessmen expected to invest in Israel right up to the ceiling imposed by their Government.[139]

The Israeli Minister of Commerce and Industry, General Haim Bar Lev, attended the press conference, and told journalists that Israel had some reservations about South African investment, but this did not include the textile scheme.

In May, the previous month, another important commercial deal had been announced. A company called ISKOOR was set up to distribute steel in Israel. It was owned 51 per cent by Koor Industries, the heavy industry combine owned by the Histadrut, the Israeli trade union federation, and 49 per cent by ISCOR, the South African Government's iron and steel corporation. The ISKOOR agreement, which involved an authorised share capital of about 1 million rand, was made in May, but not revealed until September.[140]

From 13 to 26 May, a 15-man housing mission from South Africa visited Israel to study methods of building new towns, urban renewal schemes, emergency building schemes, and industrialised building. The mission was headed by Dr. T. L. Webb, the director of the National Building Research Unit of the South African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, CSIR, another para-statal body.[141]

Later in the year, a smaller commercial deal was revealed, between the Shabal Engineering Works, of Israel, and the South African Power Tool and Equipment Company (Pty), for an exchange of knowledge for local manufacturing. SAPCO, the report said, was also making part of the Shabal range of tools under licence.[142]

The October 1973 War and after

Shortly before the outbreak of the October War, Zaire broke relations with Israel, as reported above. Most of Africa's independent States followed suit during and immediately after the war, and a contributory factor was believed to be the emergence of details of collaboration between Israel and South Africa. Certainly, as early as May 1972, a senior Tanzanian minister indicated privately that his Government was concerned about the development of ties between the two.[143] What was of particular concern was the question of military ties.

Hard evidence that is not officially denied by both sides is difficult to come by, but the trade in military materials was established before the war began. In May 1973, an Israeli official at the Paris air-show pointed out the usefulness of the Arava, produced by IAI, to South Africa. Taken to South Africa for trials some time before, the Arava is ideal for counter-insurgency operations, and some sources have suggested that South Africa is the origin of some of the export orders for the plane.

During the war itself, the Egyptian Government announced that a foreign Mirage had been shot down on the Suez front. Military sources in Cairo indicated (to the author) that the Mirage was of South African origin, and a report in the London *Daily Telegraph* subsequently suggested that South Africa had sent several Mirages via the Portuguese Atlantic islands to aid Israel.[144] In March 1974, however, President Kaunda of Zambia accused Israel of allowing South Africa to send Mirages to participate in the October War, to gain experience 'for future wars' against States like Zambia. President Kaunda also said that Israel had sent a Major General, who was unnamed, to South Africa to provide counter-insurgency training to South Africa's forces.[146]

When the war itself broke out, South Africa formally declared her neutrality. In a speech in Port Elizabeth, however, Minister of Defence P. W. Botha promised that 'within our means, and without declaring war' his Government would find ways of helping. He went on to say: 'There is a deep feeling on the part of thousands of South Africans for Israel, in her battle against the forces supported by communistic militarism, which also poses a threat to us'.[147] Similar declarations of support came from Mr. Vorster.

A considerable number of South African volunteers went to Israel, flying first to London and then via El Al to Tel Aviv.[148] Moreover, the South African Finance Minister, Dr. N. Diederichs, immediately relaxed all exchange control regulations to permit the transfer of funds to Israel.[149] According to the *Rand Daily Mail,* up to l,500 Jews with South African connexions were in the Israeli armed forces during the war, and 800 were in the force that crossed the Suez Canal.[150] At least one, Dr. Charles Louis Kowalsky, was captured, by the Syrians on Mount Hermon. After his release, he visited relations in South Africa.[151] A number of leading South African surgeons were among those who went to Israel, including Dr. Barry Kaplan, a member of Dr. Christiaan Barnard's heart transplant team.[152]

Figures for the amount of cash raised for Israel in South Africa during the war were not released, but one South African newspaper said, during the middle of the war, that the total was 'likely to be higher than 1967'.[153] Over R340,000 was raised by the Johannesburg Women's Israel Emergency Appeal in two days alone.[154] A small group of non-Jewish farmers donated livestock worth over R16,000 [155] and, as in 1967, contributions in cash and kind were by no means confined to the South African Jewish community. One figure suggested for the total was in the region of $30 million.

Following the war, hundreds of young South Africans flew to Israel to replace kibbutz workers who were still in the armed forces.[156]

As a result of the war, Israel's African policy lay in ruins: she maintained relations only with a few States in South Africa's orbit, and with South Africa and Portugal. One result was a swift change in Israel's voting record at the United Nations. In the voting on resolutions on *apartheid* at the twenty-

eighth session of the General Assembly, the Israeli delegation abstained on resolutions 3151 D and 3151 E, voted against resolution 3151 G, and was absent from voting on the other resolutions on *apartheid*. This marked a major change of stance.[157]

Trade links in 1973 grew greatly. Israeli exports to South Africa rose from approximately $9 million to $12 million, while South African exports to Israel rose from $11.6 million to $32 million in the year.[158]

After the end of the war, the development of closer links became more noticeable. In December 1973, the Israeli Sports Federation again broke the sports boycott by sending a team to compete in the international gymnastics competition in Johannesburg. At first, the ISF announced that the team — of two men — was not sufficiently fit because of the war. It subsequently changed its mind, and the two were accompanied by the chairman of the ISF, Yitzhak Fuchs. No explanation was given for the sudden change of mind when the ISF management committee decided to accept the all-expenses-paid invitation.[159] A South African Maccabi (Jewish) rugby team was due to visit Israel early in 1974.[160]

By the end of August 1974, new developments had been noted in a number of fields. In March, the Israeli Government had announced that it was raising the level of its diplomatic mission in South Africa, and former Consul-General I. D. Unna was appointed as Ambassador.[161] It was also reported that South Africa would likewise raise the level of its representation in Israel.[162]

In January, an Israel-South Africa Chamber of Commerce was formed in Israel, and the South African Consul-General predicted that trade between the two countries would increase again dramatically during the current year.[163] Nearly 100 Israeli firms were reported to have joined the new Chamber.[164] The formation of a South Africa-Israel Chamber of Commerce was also set in motion, with the encouragement of the Israeli trade consul in South Africa. The Chairman of the Israel chamber flew to South Africa for a preliminary meeting,[165] and Meyer Cohen became chairman of the new chamber.[166]

In March, the Director-General of the Investment Authority of the Israeli Finance Ministry, Abraham Agmon, visited South Africa to get governmental approval for South African firms to invest up to R15 million in Israel over the coming three years — nearly double the amount permitted in the previous three. During his trip, he met with Gerald Browne, the South African Secretary for Finance, and also with officials of the Reserve Bank.[167]

A correspondent of the Johannesburg *Sunday Times,* who spent two weeks in Israel in March, reported that South African companies were currently financing the following projects: a 26-storey office and shop complex in Tel Aviv, to be known as South Africa House, which would

house the South African diplomatic mission, South African Airways and El Al; a petro-chemicals complex in Haifa; a factory complex at Holon, a suburb of Tel Aviv; the manufacture of agricultural machinery at a new free-trade area at Eilat; and the opening of a plant at Ashdod to make welded mesh fencing.[168]

Besides these new projects, there were also a number of South African firms already operating in Israel. Several Israeli companies have significant South African investment. One is Peltours, a travel and insurance company, formerly known as Palestine and Egypt Lloyd. Controlled by Zionist members of the South African Jewish community since 1936, Peltours played a 'vital role in helping Aliyah Bet to rescue Jews from Arab countries', according to the travel correspondent of the London *Jewish Chronicle*.[169]

The ceiling for direct investment by South African companies in Israel was raised from R7 million to R20 million in May this year. Ambassador I. D. Unna commented in June that 'with South Africa's abundance of raw materials, and Israel's know-how, we can really go places if we join forces'.[170] Israel is seen by South African companies as a possible back-door into the European Economic Community, with an association agreement between Israel and the Common Market expected later this year.

At the same time, however, this year has already seen a major increase in Israeli interest in South African industry. Some licencing agreements and small investments, some of which are indicated above, have been in existence before, but there have been major changes in 1974. In April, Israel had a pavilion at the Rand Show, South Africa's biggest annual industrial fair, for the first time in 10 years. The pavilion was under the direction of Dr. Shmuel Sivan, the Director-General of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, while the exhibits included products of the country's chemical and petro-chemical industries.[171]

In June, Koor Industries, which, through its deal with Iscor, expected to import 100,000 tons of South African steel this year, announced plans to establish a R2.5 million agricultural chemicals plant in South Africa. Koor agreed to put up 25 per cent of the cost, and the South African group Adcock-Ingram, through its subsidiary, Lembro Holdings (Pty), was to put up 75 per cent. The South African IDC is to provide a low-cost loan of R700,000. The new plant, to be run by a specially-formed company, Agbro (Pty), is the first of its kind in South Africa, and will be located in a 'border area' near East London, adjoining a Bantustan.[172] General Meir Amit, who was second in command to Moshe Dayan when he was Israeli Chief of Staff in 1953, and is now head of Koor, arrived in South Africa at the end of August.[173]

With the improvement of relations in other fields, the South African police moved to implement the extradition treaty of 1960. In June, it was

announced that proceedings had begun for the return from Israel of three South Africans wanted on theft, fraud and embezzlement charges.[174] Charges were expected against six others.

The most important Israeli visitor to South Africa was Moshe Dayan, who arrived at the end of August, to be the main speaker at the opening session of the Zionist Federation conference. He went to South Africa as a guest of the South African Foundation, with a programme of talks and meetings arranged by that body, on whose committee is Dr. Shlomo Peer, a former colleague of Dayan in the Rafi Party in Israel. In the past, Israeli visitors have gone to South Africa mainly for functions connected with the local Jewish community. That limitation is now being dropped.[175] Dayan was preceded by his wife, Rachel, who checked into a Johannesburg clinic for medical treatment, under a false name, a few days before he arrived.[176]

Evidence of breaches of the cultural boycott continued. In August, the Israeli Philharmonic Orchestra toured South Africa for two weeks, the first orchestra of similar size and stature to do so for 18 years.[177] It was described by one correspondent as 'the highlight of South Africa's winter concert season'.[178] In the scientific field, there has been continued evidence of links. In July, Dr. E. J. Kruger, the senior professional officer at the Lowveld Fisheries Research Station of the Transvaal Nature Conservancy Division, visited Israel to attend a fisheries seminar.[179]

In August, President Fouche of South Africa paid a fulsome tribute to Israel, while speaking at a ceremony to inaugurate a memorial for the English settlers who went to South Africa in 1820. Paying tribute to the courage of those settlers, Fouche said that no better example of the driving force of nationalism could be found today than that in Israel. 'Whether or not we agree with Israel's sentiments, the way the Israelis are opposing millions must be respected by friend and foe.'[180]

Conclusions

It is today clear that the Government of Israel is following a clear path of improving and extending relations in all fields with the *apartheid* State of South Africa.

In the past, it has been possible to keep those links relatively unknown. The economic relations that were most important — diamond trade and the transfer of funds from the South African Zionist organizations to Israel — were not included in usual trade figures. Moreover, although senior Israeli personnel, in all fields, have regularly visited South Africa ever since Israel was established, they generally did so, at least ostensibly, for purposes connected with the local Jewish community.

That community, apart from a very few brave individuals, who have come under severe pressure from their fellow South African Jews, has,

through its communal organs, declared its support of the *apartheid* system. It has also aided the development of links between the two Governments and the two economies.

Since 1967, and especially since last year, the links between the two States have become more and more important. Moreover, the Israeli Government, while declaring its opposition to *apartheid*, at least until recently, has not responded to inquiries or pressure from anti-*apartheid* organizations and the United Nations to explain this development of links.

Today, in contrast to most other States of the world community, the State of Israel is stepping up its ties with South Africa. This is true in the political, economic and diplomatic fields. It is also, alarmingly, true in the military field as well.

Israeli denials of links with South Africa in the past had, perhaps, two origins. Firstly, there was a genuine debate inside Israel over the future of relations with the *apartheid* State — a debate that has now been won by the pro-South Africa lobby. Secondly, denials provided a useful screen to cover up links, at a time when Israel had major diplomatic and economic interests in the rest of the African continent. Those two factors have now been removed.

The existence of a community of interest between Israel and South Africa has been commented on in past years by Israeli politicians and newspapers, by the South African Jewish community, and by South African politicians and newspapers. That community of interest today seems to be a constituent part of the foreign policy decision-making system of both States.

1 *Star*, weekly, Johannesburg, 28 October 1972.
2 Speech on 26 February 1971.
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